

Hail! Motherland



Vol. I

No. 11

NOVEMBER, 1918

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IS INDIA PROSPEROUS?

SIR S. P. SINHA'S ANSWER

THE INDIAN EPICS

ASIA IS NEXT

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THE INDIA HOME RULE LEAGUE OF AMERICA

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1. To support the Home Rule movement in India.
2. To secure the power of self-determination for India through constitutional methods.
3. To organization and support of democratic institutions that are of making the world "rule by democracy".
4. To further all kinds of friendly intercourse between India and America.
5. To supply authentic information on the vital problems of modern India to the American people.

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YOUNG INDIA

NOVEMBER, 1918



Vol. I

No. 11

EDITORIAL NOTES AND NEWS

A Year Old League

The India Home Rule League of America has now completed, on October 22, 1918, the first year of its existence. With the next number of our magazine, *Young India* will also be celebrating its anniversary. We want to say nothing as to how much we have accomplished this year, except that we are quite satisfied with the work done and the results achieved. Handicapped by war conditions, we have had to struggle hard and strenuously for our most precious. With the prospect of peace nearing, we intend to put more vigor and greater energy into our movement. Our work, as we have said already in the first number of *Young India*, is purely educational. We want to bring India and America nearer each other, as we believe that a closer contact will be beneficial to both, morally as well as materially.

We intend to enlarge the size of our magazine and make it in every respect a journal worthy of the country for which it speaks in this hemisphere. When peace comes, and close communication with India is restored,

we expect to publish each month original articles by eminent Indians dealing with the different phases of Indian life, and expressing their views on the great problems of life and progress. This will enable us to give more variety of reading matter to our students. We will expound our scheme for the expansion of our magazine in our next issue.

An India Dinner

The first of a series of "India Dinners," that we intend to organize this fall, came off at the Civic Club on October 15, 1918, under the auspices of the India group of this club. About 125 ladies and gentlemen, of whom about 20 were Hindus, attended the dinner. The function was presided over by Rev. J. T. Sunderland, the vice-president of the India Home Rule League, who gave an address pointing out the international aspects of the problem of India. He was followed by Mr. Lappa Rai who gave a summary of the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme, and also of the Indian opinion, as he expressed, relating thereto. Mr. H. R.

The publication of this issue has been delayed, owing to a general strike of the press feeders in New York City.

Shaw, managing editor of *The Worker*, and Mr. J. B. Hendrick, the New York publisher, also made two brief speeches, expressing their sympathy with the efforts of India to gain a democratic form of government as an integral part of the British Commonwealth. On an appeal for financial help made by Dr. K. D. Senapaty, \$275.00 were raised in cash and \$100.00 in bonds. The new organization was named of \$200.00 and \$100.00 donated by Messrs. P. D. Kishorewala, and R. A. Page. We might suggest to new members that take the way of New York, to follow some such procedure to secure the sympathy and co-operation of American citizens in their work connected with the India Home Rule League.

The whole function was a decided success.

Mrs. T. M. Howard

Mr. Telle, the independent leader of the House Rode party in India, has been ordered by the Government of Bombay to abstain from making any public speech without the previous permission in writing of the district magistrate of the district in which he proposes to speak, as in the case of members of the Government of Bombay.

That prohibition extends to any public lecture or address. "Public" speech, lecture or address includes a speech, lecture or address delivered to the public or any class or portion of the public, notwithstanding that it may be delivered in a private place and notwithstanding that admission there may be restricted by ticket or otherwise."

Florian Müller, Innsbruck

Mr. Vashta, Secretary of the Home Rule League of Central Provinces, has been sentenced to 18 month's rigorous imprisonment. His offence was to speak on the grounds of Home Rule for India within the British Common-
wealth.

Editorial Board: Barbara Alexander

Judgment was delivered on August 25 by the additional district magistrate at the time in which Mr. Anand Lal, barrister of Delhi, and Purshottam Nandan Sharma were charged with having addressed a public meeting in contravention of an order served on them by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi under the Defence of India Act to refrain from doing so. The court found them not guilty of the charge and acquitted them both.

Mr. Charles B. Thomas

The following quotation (slightly abridged) is taken from the letter addressed by Mr. M. K. Gandhi to the Hon. Mr. Y. S. Sarabhai, Member, President of the Council of India Society, Poona, India. Speaking of the Muzungu-Chikunda Reform Scheme for India Mr. Gandhi says:

One of the things which they
have done is to help ourselves in understanding
the situation of the national
the purely British as distinguished from
the purely Indian aspects. Hence there
is to be seen in the Indian chambers
of commerce the presence of a
side I think more than any other
side it is necessary to have an honest
frank and straightforward understanding
of the situation. I would like
to say that we are not in a position
for special emphasis, any this that we
side must be held responsible to those of
of a whole. Thus if I had my way I
I would primary look to the military expenditure,
I would like to see that the military
means people that complete support, protect
of our industries, and I would continue to
a measure, for the British element in our sur-
roundings, and I would say that they are
deserted for our protection. I would like
I do not think that they had or have any
claim upon our attention any by right of
commerce. That claim must clearly go by
the side of the claims of the other
consequences of the war are continued to
the strength in weakness any only
in the restoration of what we have lost
and therefore it is to say that they do
and therefore it is to say that they do
of commerce. One can easily see in the
of the of power bestowed upon the Indian
Civil Service for their professional direction
for a more great controlling ability. I
for a more great controlling ability. I

[illegible]

Therapeutic Considerations

Mr. N. C. Kallau, Editor of the *Kinara*, Poona, India, has issued a memorandum on Self-Government, in which he says—

[illegible]

250 years there has not risen a man who has been deemed this or distinguished enough to be a Korean Commissioner to Great Britain, or a second lieutenant in the Army. Even a Korean (the great founder of the *Mahabharata* Ramayana) could have never so readily return to see above the rank of a Rajah's Man.

"Our Case Is Real"

The Panjab Special Provincial Conference was held on July, 1915. The President, Mr. Dandekar, Secretary-at-Law, Lahore, made an excellent speech, in which he pointed out some of the regretted acts of government apathy, of "unhindered autocracy," which are inflicted upon the people of his Province, the Panjab, and which ought to be stopped.

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[illegible]

How to Use the Next Census

Our Mr. "Disher" writes thus to the Anglo-Indian weekly Capital of Calcutta:

The next quest of the masses political consciousness of the Indian intelligentsia, before the outbreak of the war was the acquisition of the first servant, an overseas reading mainly from the extensive pursuit of a well-revised and lengthy literature which ruled India in terms of Victorian and Georgian from abroad. The most serious was science and social sciences.

by implication than by direct statement, and particularly because measures to reduce the authority and curb the omnipotence of a caste to which Lord Morley had the courtesy to apply a distant nod.

A Bit of Self-Revelation

It has dawned upon the Anglo-Indians mind, after all, that this system of administration in India is very defective. Speaking at Allahabad, Sir Harcourt Butler, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, made the following remarks:

"Our administrative machine belongs to another age. It is top-heavy. Its measurements are antiquated, slow, deliberate. It requires to be done. It grew up when there was not the scope, when we were not so changed, when financial economy [?] was the ruling passion of governments, official and financial. Now there are the strains of young national life, an economic spring time, a time calling for dynamism, quick response, bold experiment. Governments with numerous offices, over-burdened, may talk me that there had by centuries of experience refused delay to a minister, he used to think, but millions of mismanagement and procrastination. But the Government of India leads almost every time."

"We have not to think ourselves free from the taints of old traditions, old ideas, old habits, or to care as it may have this afternoon, we shall be swept off our feet and carried away by ideas that we can neither receive nor control."

Considering the educational system in India on the basis of the same speech, he admitted that "Young India was still being educated on lines that were discarded in England 20 or 30 years ago. He even admitted the desirability of taking loans for the purpose of educating the people. Said he:

"When the nations of the world have seized on loans to order to spend more money setting a day on education, who is better able to take it on and say that education and other works of development have no such reason as to justify it? Why should there be objection to financing development by loans to some where a business man would just capital expenditure, provided always that interest and sinking

fund for the redemption of debt can be met from revenue?" I think it was also made a big noise without stopping on loans.

"Gallant Indian Troops"

Professor Stephen Seligman Singh, who organized the "India Day" on September 20, in London, received the following letter from Lord French, the first commander-in-chief of British forces on the Western front:

"When the Indian troops first arrived in October, 1914, the situation was of it to think to a nature that it was necessary to call upon them to carry to conquer the Salient [Ypres], and help to turn the great German thrust. Their fine fighting qualities, tenacity, and endurance were well manifested during the first days of Ypres before they had long been able to completely overpower and drive the enemy from Ypres. The manner in which they repulsed themselves showed the confidence of their previous training for war. In all subsequent battles during these years they made a prominent part and featured with the utmost gallantry."

An Correspondent—"That I was so many thousands deeply indebted to them for valiant help, and I have no hesitation in saying that they absolutely upheld the glorious fighting traditions of the Indian Army. This record is all the more honorable and praiseworthy in that they were unaided by a big army at almost the worst season of the year to face the ravages of a Western winter. It will always be a source of pride and happiness to me that I have been associated in the field with these gallant troops."

Victory in Palestine

In the course of Mr. Goldhill's speech, on September 20, 1918, Mr. Bonar Law, speaking of the great victory in Palestine, said:—

"The victory in Palestine has been great additional strength for us, the largest part of the army which achieved it is composed of Indian troops. And as an indication of the difference of spirit between the Alliance and our enemies, I think that no such reason as to justify it? Why should there be objection to financing development by loans to some where a business man would just capital expenditure, provided always that interest and sinking

The "Women Movement" in India

The following piece of news about the demands which Indian women are making, is taken from *The Leader*, of Allahabad. Says *The Leader*—

"At a meeting of the ladies' branch of the Home Rule for India League, Allahabad, the following resolution was passed:—
"The meeting of the members of the ladies' branch of the Home Rule for India League, Allahabad, fully believes that of the rights that have been granted to men in the age of manhood of India, should be granted to women also, and that the same has occurred when the women should be granted the right of voting upon all representative bodies, such as municipalities, local boards, provincial and imperial legislative councils, etc. This meeting therefore requests the president of the Indian Congress and members of the All India Congress Committee to send delegates to the above body when submitting their suggestions to the Montagu-Chelmsford report."

The ladies' branch of the Home Rule League at Allahabad was started a year ago and has four members as its list. Mrs. Anandabai Sapru, wife of the late Mr. Anandabai Sapru, is president of the branch. Mrs. Anandabai Sapru and Mrs. Anandabai Sapru, are the secretaries. A library and two reading rooms are maintained by the branch.

Factory Workers

In the whole length and breadth of India there are only 7,113 factories, of all kinds.

These employ 2,024,000 people or 7 per cent. of the total population.

There are 800,000 persons employed in the processing of special products such as tea, coffee, cotton, which are not meant for India alone but for the rest of the world as well.

Only 88,000 persons are engaged in textile industries. Of these 88,000 are in cotton mills, which manufacture cloth for 113 million people. Jute and hemp, which is usually exported, furnish employment for somewhat more than 222,000.

Where employ 225,000, of whom 145,000 are found in cotton. The

number of persons engaged in gold mines is about one-fifth of the number on the coal mines.

125,000 people are employed in connection with transportation; 20,000 of them being in railroad workshops.

There are 74,000 persons who are engaged in food industries. Of these 42,000 are connected with rice and flour mills.

71,000 are employed in metal industries, and 48,000 in glass and ceramics.

Another 40,000 are engaged in manufacturing chemical products.

Industries of heavy supply contribute to 45,000.

National College of Commerce

Until recently there was only one College of Commerce in India. On July 30, 1918, Dr. Subramanyam Iyer opened the National College of Commerce at Madras. While speaking on the subject, Mrs. Bennett said that there ought to be to give the best that of persons could be given in strength, nature, discipline, and to keep the educational institutions, and get to help forward about all others, the commerce, industry, trade and other components on which depended the material progress of the country.

A Hindu Acquitted in New York

Some time ago, a young Hindu student, P. M. Naidu, was arrested by the Department of Justice on a charge of having written letters to his friends in Mexico in code with the intention of evading the census, in violation of certain provisions of one of the War Acts of the United States Government. The trial came before a jury and after evidence on both sides had been heard and the case argued, the jury retired for consideration and within two minutes brought in a verdict of not guilty, upon which Mr. Naidu was discharged by the judge.

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half a year in the United Provinces is about 15,000, out of a population of 40 millions. It is evident that the curve of wealth descends very steeply, and that enormous masses of the population have little or share for more than the subsistence of life.

Montagu—Chabornoff Opinion

In the leading articles published in our previous notes) commenting on the Montagu-Chabornoff Report, of the former proposed for India, we have said that in our judgment the unique value of this document lay in its frank acknowledgment about existing conditions in India. One of the greatest compliments of the Indian Nationalists against British rule, has been that the British Government, having neglected the economic development of India, has allowed the country to be monopolised by foreigners. We will call the following observations of the distinguished authors of the report from pages 268 to 272.

In paragraph 131 it is said:

There is truth in what, in the words of the late Mr. Bhabha, may be taken as the motto of the Indian National Congress—“the reduction of the backward part of our country by another portion has more attraction than the more formidable though selfish domination which the capital and the skill of one country may exercise over the work and manufactures of another.” This latter domination has no controlling influence which paralyses the springs of all the various activities which give rise to the life of a people.

Paragraph 132, which deals with the weakness of India's economic position, runs thus:

The weakness of a country which depends to so great an extent as India on imports, must be obvious. Moreover, situated as India is, it is liable to the effects of losses which the position alone has increased perceptibly in late years. There is still no great margin of flexible exchange. The penny rate, and the present rising rates, the question whether the general level of well-being could not be perceptibly raised by the development of industries. It is also clear that the lack of water for agricultural points in a vast part of the country has contributed to a stilling of the past in political action in Bengal. But perhaps an even greater handicap to the development of the country of those who are called for India, by seeing that she is largely dependent on foreign countries for manufactured goods.

They noted that her foreign trade was always growing, but they also saw that the leading factors confined to be the factor of the materials valued at relatively low prices for imported manufactures, which obviously affected adversely her attempts to other agencies independently from within. Perhaps Indians might well ask themselves why these profits should not accrue to their country, and also why in such a position of her industries which flourished in the country was hampered by European capital and managed by Europeans.

In paragraph 136 the authors of the report assert that—

After the war the need for industrial development will be all the greater, unless India is to become a mere dependent ground for the manufactures of foreign nations which will thus be increasing all the more heavily for the markets at which these products) through so perceptibly beyond India will ultimately consider herself confined to share all the help that her progress can give her in such her to take her place as a manufacturing country, and whilst the claim is increasing it will surely, very soon, no longer remain for a single which will position imported articles with one respect to export.

In seeking “difficulties and possibilities,” in paragraph 138, the authors remark:

“Difficulties there is looking, and although India is geologically situated as to be considered a highly favoured of being, and so to secure a continuous supply, there is a dearth of natural resources. There is also a want of personal acquaintance about the commercial possibilities of the country's raw products. Though there are serious difficulties they are not insuperable, but they will be overcome only if the Government forward policy to guide and help. On the other hand there are great grounds for hope. India has great natural resources, mineral and vegetable. She has furnished supplies of manganese, limestone, mica, jute, sugar cane, for use in the world. She has abundant coal, and, even if the geographical distribution is uneven, she has also in her larger rivers ample means of raising water-power. There is good reason for believing that she will eventually become her capital of all other lands wealth in minerals, and much of it only needs the stimulus of modern science of resources, a better arrangement of capital, and the employment of more skill, while the patient and laborious work of concentration that has been already successfully accomplished in the methods of increasing supplies and increasing output, will yield a rich harvest in future.”

THE INDIAN EPICS—I

Notes on the Ramayana

By DR. ARUNDA COMARANSWARY

(The following critical notes on the Ramayana by the eminent art critic and scholar, Dr. Arunda Comaranswary, will be of interest to students of that great Indian epic. These notes are based upon a study of the story presupposes a knowledge of the story of the Ramayana in the part of the reader. We do not know how far this condition is justified in this country. It would have been better if Dr. Comaranswary had given a brief account of the story also. Editor V. J.)

Certain of the problems of the epic appear to us as novel; we cannot feel the issues of conduct become, understandable external conditions, we should treat so differently. And so it is, that allowing the ethical questions to preoccupy our thoughts—conditions hardly fitting to question the eternal propriety of Rama's example—we are apt to overlook the drama of human conduct, making its morality because the problems are so different from our own.

We should not, for example, attach so much importance to the actor of a needless prison scene as Rama's trial to Sita. If we imagine such a question put to the best of soldiers, we should not be surprised to find that the principles of equity and honour would not be allowed her power of flesh.

But to find the actual emotional situation of the epic, we must take for granted, like the author and his audience, the absolute nobility of the letter of the contract—“My word is my bond.” Let us remember, I speak of Western society—that it is not long since an engagement to marry involved a similar question of honor, and a withdrawal without consent of the second party incurred the greatest public disapproval. The traces of this preposterous situation survive in the legal penalty which the vulgar still exact. A solitary honor it will be

hardly possible to imagine such a situation as forming a crisis in real life; and yet, the story is a work of art in a limited sense.

To find the movement of a work of art—arguably didactic, perhaps, but no longer teaching ourselves in the matter of conduct, we must take for granted the accepted standards of time and place; then only can we obtain that justice which arises from the contemplation of tragedy. And then only also can the work retain any genuine ethical relation to our own standards of conduct, when we realize that it is the principle, and not the formula of behavior that is significant. We behold the hero sacrificing personal considerations to his sense of honor, and so may we learn to do, quite irrespective of the fact that our sense of honor may have entirely different applications, and that of the hero may appear to us extravagant or irrelevant. Don Quixote remains for ever a man and a hero, and we make our peace with him.

On the other side of Rama's party. Given the accepted conditions, Rama's repudiation, with a rather reservation—in the Uttara Kanda of the Valmiki Ramayana—is magnificent. We have altogether different standards of moral concepts today, perhaps not less existing, but different. But what is missing in the epic is not the formula of morality—it is the conflict of the accepted formula with personal inclination—the hero's responsibility as motives of pleasure and pain. There is an ethical principle. The moral drama is woven around such principles, and does not stand or fall with contemporary morality—which is always relative to its time and place.

Modern morality would assert that it was the duty of the hero to protect

the conquest—and helpless—victim of popular rage, at all times) and moral courage would be shown in indifference to public opinion. Even supposing that Sita had been guilty, we should more than justify the hero in forgiveness, and a modern Vasanta would have enjoyed the attitude of one who said, "Let him that is without sin among you cast the first stone." Some would go further and assert that a wife is not a husband's property, but an individual free to judge for herself of the propriety of her own actions. We must remember, however, that throughout the *Ramayana*, the motives of the hero and heroine are represented as impersonal; husband and wife, moreover—in the ideal marriage—are regarded as one consciousness, so that the action of either is to be considered as that of both. This is a different method of approach the motives of the modern individual are not always, though they should and may be, equally impersonal.

Another example is afforded by the case of the Sudra whom Rama slays, on the ground that he is pursuing Yaga, a thing forbidden to a man of inferior spiritual status. No one would entertain a prejudice of this sort today. And yet we see the intention, still impersonal—the preservation of standards, and this is a problem which modern society has still to solve in its own way. Moreover, in estimating such a situation as this, we must always remember that the modern social order of competitive individualism, involves a constant and equally effective, and in intention less humane, elimination of the "unfit"—and this is not for the sake of any social or

moral ideal—not even a mistaken or false ideal—but simply on the principle, "The devil take the hindmost." One thing at least is certain, that the absence of modern society—a perfect and typical expression of the spirit of the *Ramayana*, while, if there are situations in the epic which we, from the standpoint of our own morality, cannot in any way endorse, nevertheless cannot deny that it maintains consistently the eternal value of impersonal motives, and the ultimate identity of all interests.

If we regard the *Ramayana* still as a didactic work, its "moral" is as to be found in these fundamental principles, and not in the social formulae it takes for granted or proposes.

But if we are to look upon it as a work of art, a mirror of the world, representing to our eyes the drama of life, as it contains in the perpetual interplay of good and evil, love and hate, and all the pairs of opposites—if we are to achieve as readers a vision of the world-scenario—being thus delivered to another and perhaps a higher way than the relevance to self—then we must take for granted, as the poet takes for granted, the conventional ethical ideals, accepting the conventions of behavior as we accept the other conditions of time and place. We are not by this committed to an approval of the social formulae which the story takes for granted; we simply recognize that the moral and aesthetic categories cannot be confused. A thing of beauty is a joy forever—independent of all standards of conduct.

ASIA IS NEXT

By HERBERT D. WOOLFE

There can be no doubt but that the center of historical interest is again turning Eastward, where it was in the dawn of history. The grand cycle seems about to be completed; and the ascendancy of the next generation will quite likely reside in this Eastward.

Civilization rose in the East, travelled Westward, dominating with its morning banners, Greece, Rome and then Western Europe, gilded with its full noon-tide splendor the geriatric materialism of America, and then went to rest once more in the waters of the Pacific.

But is it the sunset of civilization? or is it the dawn of a new millennium in the Far-East, promising a new and more wonderful cycle? Are the civilizations of Japan, China and India in truth beyond civilization, as we Occidentals are wont to assume, or is the sun setting and a splendid sunset is the making?

History shows the way of the world, and America, latest banner of the dotted domination, Civilization, is turning her eye Eastward.

America first shows her interest in a new land by sending her money there. And when signs of money follow. Loans to China, trade with the far East, opening of the Philippines—then her material interests travelled Eastward. Then came first values, little more than caricatures of a spiritual interest, in the shape of wondrously performances by "Hindu Fakirs" (and there is no reason why I should not include in the American picture, painting, and spell this last word with an "s" in place of the "f"), then a linguistic movement as Hindu philosophies, and now, at last, an interest in Asiatic history.

It is this interest, manifested by a

Course of *Lectures on Asiatic History* to be given by Mr. Lytton Sal, the editor of *Young India*, and to be given not to mere dilettantes, but to working people, studying at the so-called "Workers University," the Rand School of Social Science, that has prompted these few reflections on Asia, and our awakening interest in it. It is less natural that the Socialists (for the Rand School is a Socialist Institution) should be among the first to manifest a strong historical curiosity toward the East, first because of their internationalism, and second because of their inevitable habit of seeking to take time by the forelock and wring from him the secrets of the future.

To the thoughtful Socialist, the East is pregnant with interest. Compared with the slow development of Capitalism in the West, its rise in Japan has been almost an overnight occurrence. The transience, artificial and material, in China and India has been scarcely less startling. Such folk as believe that there will be another world war, do not hesitate to predict that its center will be the Pacific and the union battled for will be Asiatic trade and Asiatic land. Indeed, Asia has already proved almost as fruitful a source of wars as the agonizing background of the Balkans, and there are those who believe that the end is not yet.

Full advantage ought to be taken of this course of lectures by everyone interested in international history and politics right now, because just at present it is an opportune time to know more about other peoples. We are so apt to reconstruct the world and we can not do it unless we know something about it.

MARCH ON! DEMOCRACY, MARCH ON!!

They not only saw the waters of the Rhine but saw the Danube. Whether on the snowy Alps or in the vicinity of the Urals, but march on to the holy rivers of the Ganges and the Jumna, breasting then the impassable mountain barriers of Hindustan. Americans! Help it by joining the India Home Rule League.

Do you know that India also is clamouring for self-determination? What have you done for it? At least become a member of this League and read *Young India*.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books received by Young India.

MACMILLAN CO.

- (1) *Japan and Persia* by H. G. Wells. 31/25
(2) *Imperial England* by C. P. Lavelle and C. E. Payne, with maps. 1/60
(3) *Spruce Fords*, by Sir Richmond Smith. 1/30
(4) *Geography and Public Commerce*, by Sir Richmond Smith. 1/30

MORFAT, VALD R. CO.

- (1) *The Psychology Method*, by Oscar Fluor. 1/30
(2) *Delusions and Dreams*, by Sigmund Freud. 1/30
(3) *Trains and Tubes*, by Sigmund Freud. 1/30

Seeing Japan, by J. T. Sunderland, M.A., D.D., Recent Fellow Lecturer in Japan, India and China, and a Foreword by Lindsay Russell, President of the Japan Society, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Price 1/12.

An eminent Japanese scholar writes from Tokio that he regards this new book of Dr. Sunderland as distinctly the best work on Japanese civilization, the aims and ideals of the Japanese nation, and the relations of Japan with America, that has appeared from any pen, and he requests permission to translate it into Japanese and republish it in Tokio.

The *London Times* does the book extraordinary honor of saying two columns to its review, praising it highly and saying that it is widely read in England, as a means of conveying to the English people greatly needed corrections of misunderstandings regarding Japan, and a true conception of the place of this interesting and rising nation of the Orient among the civilized peoples of the world.

Dr. Sidney L. Gulick of New York, who has resided many years in Japan, who has written extensively concerning Japanese history and the Japanese people, and who is regarded as the

highest American authority on Japan, says of Dr. Sunderland's volume: "Hundreds of thousands of Americans ought to read this timely and important work."

The first chapter of Dr. Sunderland's book has for its subject "The Civilization of Asia." Is it the author's aim?

"Many persons in Europe and America find it hard to believe that Japan is a civilized land, at least in any such sense as applies to England or France or Germany or the United States. Why is this so? Is it not because Japan is located in Asia?"

"Europeans have long looked down upon Asia with a strange arrogance and semi-concept, as if her peoples were inferior, as if her place in the world's civilization and the world's achievement were insignificant. But what are the facts?"

"Asia is the mother-continent of the world. She is the mother of the world's most important races, including the races of Europe, she is the greatest mother of nations, she is the most important mother of languages, she is the mother of the alphabet and of letters; she is the mother of astronomy and navigation and mathematics and most of the arts and industries of the world, she is the mother of civilization, giving to the world its first centres of enlightenment, many centuries before any part of Europe had emerged from barbarism, and when civilization began to penetrate Europe it was from Asia that it came. What is important, also, Asia is the mother of religions. All the world's great historic religious faiths are of Asian origin, and are based on any other continent. Europe herself received both her Christianity and her Bible from Asia. Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiah, Paul, and Jesus were all Asiatics. Where then is there any ground for Europe's

pride and arrogance when comparing herself with Asia?"

These are facts that need to be borne in mind by Europeans only interested not only in Japan but interested in China and India, especially the latter, a land whose civilization is much earlier dated anything in Europe.

Dr. Sunderland follows his chapter on "The Civilization of Asia" by three chapters on "The Civilization of Japan," in which he makes a somewhat detailed comparison between Japanese civilization and the combination of Europe and America—a comparison which can not fail to be in a high degree illuminating to most readers, and to some in an almost amazing startling. Within the past fifty years Japan has learned much from the nations of the West. The author makes it clear that while there are still other things that she may learn to advantage, there are some things of no small importance that the West may well learn from her.

The book discusses with much fullness and care the question which has agitated this country so much during the past dozen years, as to whether Japan is a "menace" to America, whether she has ever contemplated or is likely ever to contemplate an "incursion" of the United States. Any

one who has ever had any fears on this score should read Dr. Sunderland's chapters. He shows by an array of facts and testimonies that seems overwhelming and irrefutable that the whole agitation has been unwisely created—has been a pure "scare" manufactured out of nothing by "jingo" newspapers and by members of Japan, and especially by Germany and then by Germany's ally, for the purpose of creating hostility between Japan and this country. It is another illustration and a very striking one of the way in which for nearly a generation Germany has had her agents in all parts of the world working clandestinely to carry out her ends.

One chapter of the book deals with the question whether the Philippine Islands are in danger from Japan, and another with the relation of Japan to China, especially in regard to the preservation of the "open door" for trade and commerce, and the "commercial integrity" of the country. Other chapters treat with considerable fullness the "Japanese Question in California," which shows of late a tendency to settle itself, and the important and still pressing question of Japanese "immigration" into the United States.

The book deserves extensive circulation.

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A SYMPOSIUM OF INDIAN OPINION ON THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT

Indian opinion on the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of reforms was sharply divided between acceptance and rejection in the first few days of the publication of the report. Even then by a careful consideration of the proposals of the Secretary for India and the Viceroy, in a spirit of compromise, opinion in India has previously been centred on the principal defects of the scheme and, subject to the removal of these defects, there is a consensus of opinion in favour of the acceptance of the proposals.

We believe our readers in this country will be interested in having a digest of the said opinions. We presume that by this time they are familiar with the salient features of the scheme, as these were discussed by us in previous numbers of our magazine. We, therefore, pointed at once to point out that practically whole India, whether conservative, liberal or radical, is agreed that the scheme for the Central Government is absolutely unacceptable, as not being even a beginning of, or a step toward responsible government.

We will start with the opinion of the conservative section of the Indian Nationalists.

One of the most weighty pronouncements on the scheme is that of a group of Bombay leaders, including several barons, an ex-judge of the High Court, several members or members of the Legislative Councils, principal (Chairman) of the Bombay University, and other prominent men. These gentlemen start with the following observations as regards the general character of the scheme:

"The proposed scheme, when put together, forms a complicated structure, capable of improvement in some particulars, especially at the top, but the substantial character of which is apparent when attention is concentrated on its main features as a progressive measure of reform calculated to make the provinces in British India really, as early as possible, by the operation of machinery referred in the scheme itself, the promised goal of complete 'responsible government,' as fulfilsment of the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917."

The substance of the opinion then proceed to enumerate the points of the scheme which, they consider, constitute an advance on the present state of affairs, and observe that "the embodying of the long list of Congress demands in these proposals by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, in spite of adverse official opinion, in respect of several of them, is in itself a notable achievement on their part for which the discerning Indian public will, we have no doubt, be thankful."

After discussing the details of the scheme for Provincial governments, more in a spirit of approval than otherwise, they proceed to a discussion of the scheme for the Central Government.

"When we examine, however," they add, "the proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in regard to the Government of India, we are unable to speak of the result of their labours in terms of approbation which we have deemed it but right to accord to their scheme for the provinces. We acknowledge that the changes that they have proposed in the structure of the Government of India, both as to executive and legislative aspects, are in some respects, an improvement on present conditions, and in no respect 'retrograde' or 'improvement'."

Then they take the proposals of creation and offer the following remarks:

Executive Council.

"The Indian element in that Council is proposed to be increased by the appointment of another Indian member as soon as may be. The authors of the proposals say that 'in recommending a second appointment' (it is, of an Indian member) 'we are only pursuing the policy already announced upon in respect of the public services.' That policy is to recruit only 33 per cent. of the superior posts in India with an annual increase of 1½ per cent. The authors of the scheme, adopting this percentage, apparently intend to appoint only two Indian members out of the total strength of six, that is to say, one-third. We think the Indian element in the Executive Council of the Government should be one-half."

THE LEGISLATURE.

The Bombay leaders strongly take exception to the proposal of the Secretary and the Viceroy for the creation of a State Council, and for failing to provide any kind of control over the budget and the fiscal policy of the Government. As regards the former, they say "the matter in which we attach the greatest importance is the right to control the budget." They suggest that the budget might be considered by an Advisory Board before the Finance Member finally prepares it for submission to the Legislature. "It should be open to the Government in withhold information, the disclosure of which might be deemed inconsistent with the public interest. Subject to this necessary restriction, the non-official view must be heard on the preparation of the budget. Such a step is absolutely necessary as a preparation for the eventual control of the purse of the central Government by the Legislative Assembly of India."

Coming to the observations of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy regarding India's right to determine its own fiscal policy being dependent on the decision of Parliament, the Bombay leaders conclude this part of their criticism by putting the following question:

"We ask whether a Parliamentary Bill for the annexation of the Government of India with a view to give effect to the policy of the announcement of his Majesty's Government on August 20, 1917, for 'the progressive transfer of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire' can be reasonably deemed to be so fundamentally flawed by it contains no provision, character, of however tentative a character, for the conferring of India having granted fiscal freedom on terms of equality with the provinces. Such a provision, we think, is absolutely necessary to make the draft reasonably complete so as to obviate the necessity of coming before Parliament again, immediately after the war, for an amendment of the Statute."

As to other proposals relating to the Central Government, the dignitaries proceed to remark:

"While we admit that the executive and legislative structure of the Government of India has been proposed to be improved in some respects so as to constitute an advance on present conditions, we are constrained to say that the proposals in the behalf are excessively cautious and unnecessarily liberal. They are based on a formula, the correctness and soundness of which we venture to question. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy have laid down that formula in these terms:

"The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and acting with responsibility, its authority in essential matters must

remain indigestible, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the Provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased.

"We beg to question not only the soundness of the principle and policy embodied in this proposition, but also its compatibility with the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. How can it be said that the position enshrined in the formula is in consonance with the terms of that announcement when we attempt whatever is made in the reconstruction of the Government of India itself towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government to however small an extent? We fail to see why the Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and why even the beginnings of responsible government in the Government of India should be withheld until, perhaps, a majority of the provinces, advanced as well as backward, have made a decided progress in responsible government. Till this contingency happens, the Government of India is apparently to remain without even the seed of responsible government introduced into its system. This, we think, is wrong in principle and is bound to lead to rigidity and unprogressiveness in the exercise of the body politic, which would result in the fixation, elasticity and growth of provincial administrations. Besides, it is bad policy to make the Legislative Assembly of India as unconnected as at present with the provincial Legislative Councils that the best talent of the country would be externally attracted to the latter on account of the new and fascinating opportunities of service and distinction that would be thrown open to it under the proposed arrangement. It is in accord of this wrong formula on which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have taken their stand, that their proposals in regard to the Government of India have suffered in correctness of conception and in liberality. A Legislature with a two-thirds elected element differs but as an important matter retaining the characteristics of the Mafsey-Munro model, that is to say, more 'britches unbuttoned by responsibility' less its profits, and should not be allowed to continue in this position of irresponsibility. Otherwise there would be a break-down of the machinery long before it is subjected to new requirements at the end of the period forecast envisaged by the authors of the formula. We think that sound policy as well as the necessity of the compelling with the terms of the announcement of August last dictate an immediate modification of the position embodied in that formula.

"We fail to see why the beginnings of responsible government could not be made or should not be made in the Government of India itself, at least to a limited extent, simultaneously with the provinces. If our suggestion is given effect to, income-tax, revenues from 'postal' stamp duty, railways, post and telegraph (so far as their general administration other than for military purposes is concerned), and above all, salt and customs, are some of the items which may be profitably 'transferred' into the control of Indian administration. To our mind, the principal defect of the scheme of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford is its failure to give any control, however small, over the Government of India to the people's representatives in the legislative or to provide for such control in the future with the same direction and freedom with which the growth of popular control is provided for in the Provincial Governments. We think the British Cabinet and Parliament must be requested to introduce into the Bill some measure of transfer of power to the Legislative Assembly of India, and to provide for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India itself by specifically authorising the pro-

posed periodic Parliamentary Commission to inquire into the matter and recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be necessary or desirable in that behalf.

"We think the legislative structure which the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have proposed for the reconstruction of the machinery of the Government of India has been unwisely complicated by the announcement of a second Chamber, the introduction of which into the Constitution of India is highly undesirable. It is, on the whole, a despatched device ill-calculated to serve a useful purpose in the constitutional development of India on smooth and harmonious lines. It would, we think, lead to heat, friction and bad blood, impeding the Constitutional draft—and more so, when it is so complicated and expounded as to be a maze Government machines contrived to perplex or set aside as non-existent or casual matters, a Legislature containing an elected majority. A Second Chamber, wherever introduced, has been far from successful.

"The authors of the reform proposals contemplate the perpetuation of the 'Council of State' as a permanent institution in this country in the modified form eventually of more reviewing chamber, instead of its being both a reviewing and a supervising body, as at present proposed, over the hand of the Legislative Assembly of India. We are firmly convinced that this perpetuation would be a grievous blunder, and we would, therefore, earnestly desire that this obnoxious feature of the proposals be forthwith dropped. We would suggest instead an adoption of the plan of Grand Committees proposed by the authors of the Balfour scheme for the Provinces.

II.

THE INDIANIST: MAMMA MATHIAS.

The Madras Hinduistan, signed by thirty-three gentlemen of high position, including representatives of all religions, races and communities, among them as ex-cabinet minister of Madras, reads as follows:

"We have carefully read the report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in which the reform proposals are embodied. We recognise the care and forethought with which it has been prepared, and we feel that an honest attempt has been made to deal with the vexed political situation in India. While there can be no doubt of the sympathy of the authors with the political aspirations of Indians and of their desire to contribute to the advancement of the country as a whole, it is clear that the report is influenced by ignorance as to the limits and capacity of the people of India, and that their anxiety not to impair the effectiveness of the executive government has in some respects tended to strengthen the position of the hands of provincial and central Governments even beyond the present limits.

"In considering the scheme on the basis of discussion we would suggest water-aims—(1) The procedure of contribution by the Government-General being restricted to cases where the interest of peace and order may require it; (2) control over customs and tariff being fully vested in the central Legislature; (3) the budget being voted upon by the Legislature excepting what may be required for the army and navy and the vested interests of existing services; and (4) a larger Indian element in the Executive Council of the Government of India.

"As regards the provincial Governments the transferred subjects should comprise all except law, justice and police, and the transfer of the latter from the hands of reserved subjects should be made as a matter of course after a

fixed period, unless it is proved to the satisfaction of the Royal Commission to be appointed under the scheme suggested by the Report, that such transfer is undesirable in the public interest.

"The amount that may at any time be wanted upon for allotment to the several departments should be on the basis of the pre-war expenditures on those departments, and any further amount that may be required should be voted upon and raised by means of bills passed by the Legislative Councils as in the case of any extra money required on account of the transferred departments, and the Governor should not have the power to raise on the whole or any part of the allotment originally provided, by certifying its necessity. The appointment of provincial commissioners to imperial expenditure proceeds on wrong principles, and in the case of Madras perpetuates a malignant epidemic. There is no adequate justification for the proposal to appoint members without portfolio from among high officers for purposes of consultation and advice. We are convinced that it is bound to more than neutralise any advantages to be expected from the presence of the Indian element in the executive councils of Provincial Governments."

III

A STATEMENT FROM SOME UNITED PROVINCE LEADERS.

including several members of the Legislative Council and other prominent public men, Hindustani as well as Madhawi.

Starting with the observation that the report of the Viceroy and the Secretary for India is a document of unique importance to the people of British India, and that its publication marks a stage in the development of Indian policy, the framers of the Manifesto say:

"There is room for substantial improvement in the proposals relating to the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. But taking a large view of a large situation, it is our considered opinion that the scheme . . . represents a general and material advance on existing conditions."

There is much in it with which we disagree. Indian weight has been attached to factors that are undesirable to us. At places the proposals betray a nervousness which appears to us to be exaggerated, and are hedged around with safe-guards which take away from their usefulness and give rise to suspicion in the public mind.

"We should make it plain that this period (that is, the period of transition) should not be longer than absolutely necessary, and further that even now no more restrictions ought to be imposed, or safe-guards inserted than may be indispensable for the discharge of the Government responsibility for peace and order. . . . The power of the Legislative Councils should not be hampered by too many checks."

"We are also willing to allow that the Government of India, may retain for the present more power than Provincial Governments will enjoy; but the stages by which progress is to be made in transferring it should be clearly indicated, and the first stage should be traversed now. The line of advance should be settled now. The functions of the Commission of Inquiry should be only to determine the extent of the advance practicable at any given time."

IV.

THE BERRI MANIFESTO

The Berris Manifesto, signed by the Hon. Mr. G. E. Berris, a member

of the Imperial Legislative Council, and other influential men, ten members of the Central Province, contains the following:

"The Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme is an honest and manly attempt to grapple with the situation, but the scheme does not reduce the power of the Government to the least. As regards provincial autonomy, the scheme falls short of the burning aspirations of the people, and with regard to the Government of India, it is more autocratic than at present. The scheme requires substantial radical modifications before it can become acceptable."

V

THE PUNJAB RESOLUTIONS

The Punjab Provincial Conference passed the following resolution regarding the reform scheme:

"This conference, while placing on record its anxiety of gratitude to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for the pains they have taken to study the political situation in India with a view to introducing reforms in the constitution, is of opinion that the report issued by them betrays an unshakable distrust of the Indian people and their own affairs and falls far short of the aspirations and needs of the Indian people. Therefore, in the opinion of the Conference, the scheme of reforms proposed . . . is unacceptable without the modifications suggested below:

"1. That the control of the British Parliament should not be relaxed unless and until the power relinquished by them devolves on the people of India.

"2. That the Conference recommends that the Council of India should be abolished or modified in such a way as to reduce its strength, at least half the number of members to consist of Indians.

"3. (a) The number of Indian members in the Viceroy's Council should be half of the whole strength of the Council and should be chosen by the elected members of the legislative council, the other members of the executive council to be Englishmen (except and educated in the public life of England, prominent officials being ordinarily ineligible to seats in the Council. (b) Indian secretaries to the Government of India should be Indians elected from among the elected members of the Assembly. (c) There should be no Privy Council for India.

"4. (a) No Council of State should be established. (b) The strength of the Legislative Assembly should be 150. (c) The Speaker should be elected by the House. (d) In the case of dissolution the Assembly to be called within three months. (e) A resolution of the assembly should be binding on the Government if it is passed a second time within a year. (f) The Governor-General or the Governor-General-in-Council to have no power to issue orders unless the country is in a state of war. (g) The Governor-General or the Governor not to have power to dissolve parliament, but Government to have power to answer questions.

"5. (a) The control of the Government of India and the Secretary of State should not be relaxed unless the power relinquished by them devolves on the provincial legislative council. (b) There should be no distinction of reserved and transferred subjects and the executive council should consist of three members, of whom two at least should be Indians elected by the legislative council. (c) The Governor should not arbitrarily belong to any par-

Announcements

TWO CONVENTIONS

The India Home Rule League of America will hold its first annual convention in the City of New York during the Xmas holidays. The actual dates of the sittings will be published in the next number.

The December number of *Young India* will be immensely interesting and most pleasing to the minds of its readers. It will be not only attractive, but full of instruction and inspiration. Price is the same as before. 15 cents, plus the postage, will bring you this beautiful number to your home.

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The Hindustan Association of America also will hold its annual convention in this city during the same days. The General Secretary will be glad to answer any inquiries about it. Address him to 116 West 39th Street, New York, N. Y.

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